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ABSTRACT

The speakers' remarks and the subsequent discussion at this seminar centered largely on the book, "The Boundless Resource: A Prospectus for an Education/Work Policy," by Willard Wirtz and the National Manpower Institute (1975). The seminar was intended to provide a setting wherein the postsecondary education community could develop a plan of action for improving the relation between the educational experience and the work experience, particularly for young people. Major presentations were on the relation of college studies to jobs, prerequisites for change, authority and the advisory role, legislation for reform, purpose of career education, leadership for councils, meaningful jobs for young people, and portable benefits for lifetime work. The report reproduces verbatim comments and responses from the floor in addition to the presentations. (TA)

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EDUCATION AND WORK

Report of a Seminar

Policy Analysis Service Reports
Vol. 2, No. 1, June 1976

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PREFACE

The Policy Analysis Service was created to give the American Council on Education a greater capability for responding to public policy issues related to higher education. One major activity of PAS has been the convening of a series of seminars that bring together representatives of congressional committees, the executive branch, state governments, academic institutions, and education associations to discuss topics of national significance with a view toward influencing public policy. The informality of these seminars is, we believe, conducive to a candid exchange of ideas among participants who represent a diversity of interests and experience but who, at the same time, share a common concern with the topic at hand. It is our hope that these discussions will help to define issues and to suggest policy options.

The seminar on Educational and Work is one of the series; the topic is of vital national interest, relevant not only to postsecondary education but also to many other domains in our society. The transcript was edited by Justine Kingham, who tried to retain the conversational tone while clarifying references and tightening the structure. Laura Kent did the final revision and coordination of the manuscript for publication. Though it was not possible to identify in the text those participants who made comments and addressed questions to the speakers, we wanted to present as much of the discussion as possible in order to communicate the full flavor and tone of the exchange of ideas. We would appreciate comments from the reader on the usefulness of this approach.

As the list of participants shows, the people who attended the seminar represented a broad spectrum of points of view. The Policy Analysis Service appreciates their contributions in time and interest; we assume, of course, that the opinions expressed are their own and do not necessarily represent the views of the organizations with which they are affiliated.

June 11, 1976

Patricia Smith
Policy Associate
Policy Analysis Service

INTRODUCTION

This seminar on Education and Work, sponsored by the Policy Analysis Service of the American Council on Education and convened in February 1976, was intended to provide a setting wherein the postsecondary education community could develop a plan of action for improving the relation between the educational experience and the work experience, particularly for young people. It was viewed by ACE as one of a series of Council initiatives to stimulate effective responses from academic institutions, government agencies, and the public to the problems faced by young people as they make the transition from school to the adult world generally and the world of work specifically. A recent book, The Boundless Resource: A Prospectus for an Education/Work Policy, by Willard Wirtz and the National Manpower Institute,¹ was the focus of the seminar; its format was selected in the spirit of that book as stated in its Preface: ". . . the key to bringing education and work closer together is not so much in any particular programs as in developing truly collaborative processes among those in charge of these functions . . ." (p. 6).

Dr. Stephen K. Bailey, Vice-President of ACE, chaired the seminar. The principal speaker was Mr. Wirtz, whose presentation was followed by comments from Dr. Sidney P. Marland, President of the College Entrance Examination Board and former U.S. Commissioner of Education, and Mr. Peter Masiko, President of Miami-Dade Community College. Then, the meeting was thrown open to discussion from the floor; participants included representatives of postsecondary education associations and foundations, congressional staff, officials from the executive branch, and experts from academic institutions and the National Manpower Institute.

The speakers' remarks and the subsequent discussion centered in large part on The Boundless Resource. The Introduction, "A New Imperative, a New Prospect," argues that there is a dysfunction between schools and jobs in American society whose symptoms include high youth unemployment and the preparation of young people for jobs that do not exist. Current

¹Washington: New Republic Book Co., 1975.

programs designed to alleviate these problems have simply not succeeded. But the dysfunction is part of the much larger issues of national unemployment among adults as well as young people and of the depletion of the natural resources on which so much of our economy is based. In view of this predicament, the only feasible alternative "is to rebuild our ideas and plans around the fuller development of those other resources which are called 'human' and which are in limitless supply" (p. 3). The book then analyzes youth and the career years and concludes with a strategy for change comprising a number of highly specific recommendations.

Dr. Bailey began by asking how we should introduce young people to adult opportunities and responsibilities. Mr. Wirtz, laying a common ground for discussion, reiterated the three prerequisites for change outlined in the book: (1) a redefinition of economic growth to include human as well as natural resources, (2) increased citizen participation at the community level to restore confidence in democracy, and (3) expansion of the concept of education to include the needs of adults.

According to Mr. Marlard, the major issue is whether the community-based education-work councils advocated in The Boundless Resource would, in contrast to existing advisory councils, have authority, backed up by funding, to develop and administer education-work programs. He believed that legislation would be needed if the councils were to function effectively. Mr. Masiko suggested that, by endorsing the book's philosophy, we would really be looking for socially and democratically acceptable ways to redistribute income more equitably in this country. Who, he asked, would surface as leaders capable of accomplishing such a transformation?

All those who contributed to the subsequent discussion seemed to agree that some social restructuring is necessary, that the community should be involved in a major way in bringing about needed changes, and that schools at all levels--elementary, secondary, and postsecondary--have a prime responsibility for altering society's view of work and education. The primary points of disagreement were (1) the proper role of federal and state governments and (2) the type and level of programs to be administered. Mr. Wirtz concluded the seminar by reemphasizing the need to break through existing patterns and by appealing to the participants to work to develop an education policy that would call for the deep involvement of citizens at the local level.

In this report, headings are used throughout to flag the topics being discussed. A list of these headings serves as a table of contents to give the reader an overview of the progression of the meeting.

PRESENTATIONS

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: The topic of education and work has both the advantage and the disadvantage of being ambiguous. Many people are going to read into those two terms their own experiences, hopes, and concerns and treat the topic with various degrees of abstraction.

The American Council on Education is fundamentally concerned with education as a lifelong phenomenon, but for reasons of history and contemporary urgency, we have a very special concern with what is happening to the youth of this nation.

The young people--and I mean by that not just those in college, but those who are maturing younger and younger yet finding some sense of utility later and later--are presenting a problem to this nation that has social, psychological, economic, and moral ramifications.

The question is, How does society introduce its young people to adult responsibilities? By that I mean the world of work and, as Mr. Marland uses the phrase, the world of adjustment to the perversities and opportunities of a long life. This question of introduction is something that we have not answered very well.

In most agricultural systems, young people have a very substantial sense of usefulness and, therefore, they develop identify at an early age. In the 1930s, O. E. Baker, one of the great agricultural economists at the U. S. Department of Agriculture, described to me the changes that he had seen in his lifetime that were caused by the mechanization of agriculture. He was concerned nostalgically, as were the nineteenth-century Chartists in Britain, about the disappearances of the family farm.

Baker's great concern was not that the revolution would fail in terms of agricultural productivity; he was worried about what was going to happen to individual human beings, young people, as they came into adolescence. Suddenly the hand labor that had given earlier generations a sense of utility at the same age would be displaced by a machine which would be meaningful only to those who could drive the tractor itself.

That thought came as a strange insight to me, because I had always considered picking asparagus or cotton to be a terribly demeaning thing to do. Whatever psychological utility young people on family farms gain from contributing something important to the family living, that element has been undercut by a highly rationalized, highly technological society that is having a harder and harder time finding meaningful ways for young people to relate to the total system.

Relation of College Studies to Jobs

The American Council is concerned about the predicament of young people coming into the college system and not finding a sense of reality that connects their studies to the world of work. Such human beings (particularly those who have been on the margins of the economic system) present an increasing problem for colleges and universities.

In terms of the educator's observations of the people to be served, our society, and the problems posed by youth as a class, we see only difficult times ahead, if our social consciousness continues to drift. We with the American Council on Education, therefore, want to do whatever we can to create ideas and to make suggestions for the future that will foster the human values implicit in education for work.

I don't know of any work that has caused any more excitement than Willard Wirtz's report, The Boundless Resource. I read it with considerable interest because it seemed to me to be an eloquent beginning to a colloquy which must go on for years. The question is, How do we, as we introduce young people to adult life in some positive manner, help them to adjust to the working world?

We have an opportunity to begin the colloquy among the very distinguished group sitting around the table. Let us start with the basic conceptions of the author, Willard Wirtz.

MR. WIRTZ: I have been giving so many speeches about education and work during the last three years, particularly in the last three months, that I have come to despise the sound of my voice on the subject. All the speeches have ended with the question, Who will do what next? I do have a different feeling here this morning because I hope that our meeting will try to suggest some answers.

You referred to the different levels of abstraction at which problems will be analyzed. And there is a tendency among people with our backgrounds and interest to browse around policy and theory and never get to the job of working out strategy and change. It is the matter of implementation that needs more profound thought than it has been given.

"All right, this may all be true," you may say. "But, who does what next, and how do you move ahead?" Before answering the question, I would like to try to find a common ground from which we can approach the matter of implementation.

Prerequisites for Change

The first element to be considered is the matter of philosophy or policy of the whole education-work matter, although it gets into the area of implementation. This particular area must be responsive to the need to prepare young people both for adult life and work experience. The hard fact is that the economic situation seems to include an extraordinarily high degree of unemployment.

The Boundless Resource took about six to twelve months longer to put together than we expected because right in the middle of writing it, the unemployment rate rose to 8 or 9 percent. You would be astonished at the amount of testing that was necessary as a consequence of the increase.

The subject of the manuscript was preparing youth for work, but the unemployment data indicated there wasn't any work to be found. What point is there in discussing refinements of the process under such circumstances? Obviously the same thought had occurred to the public. Two trends, however, have recently been identified that are inconsistent with a logical interpretation of the data. Interest has grown in vocational and occupational preparation for a specific work prospect--with a concomitant pressure exerted on curricula and institutions to offer practical courses--and the kids are moving with what seems to me to be an alarming speed toward more career-oriented objectives. I am afraid we are very close--perhaps within eighteen months--to a showdown, because many of those kids are not going to get the jobs for which they have been preparing.

So one effect of the tightening economic situation and the worsening employment prospects has been to make people think in terms of specific

vocational education and occupational training. The other reaction has been to suggest to a good many people that the whole subject is moot.

As I understand one set of employment figures, I would say that the data (especially those reporting youth unemployment) tell an entirely different story today than they did in earlier years. Unemployment has usually been thought of as a cyclical phenomenon in the United States. Now we may anticipate an unemployment rate for adults of 6, 7, or 8 percent over the next four or five years. I am much clearer about what the future rates of youth unemployment will be. The January 1976 figures represented the largest drop in general unemployment in many years: 0.5 percentage points, or from 8.3 percent to 7.8 percent. That is a significant drop and encouraging, but the improvement was not uniform throughout the economy.

The unemployment rate dropped in all categories except one: The youth unemployment figure stayed exactly where it had been before. Hardly anybody in this country realizes that the youth unemployment figure is at the 20 percent level. There are some things about that percentage that I do not find totally reliable, but the point remains that very few people know the extent of joblessness among the young. For the sixteen- to nineteen-year-olds who are also black--a dual disadvantage--the percentage is very likely to stay at this level. Given the present attitude toward problems of youth and unemployment, the only prospect, as Dr. Bailey said, is bad news.

There are several reasons for negative predictions, and we may want to explore them in more depth. But there is a secondary phenomenon that bears on this same problem. More and more employers, especially major employers, will no longer hire anybody under the age of twenty, except to fill the most humdrum kinds of jobs. I don't mean to dismiss such jobs by calling them dead-end. They have value, but there is a significant trend as far as youth unemployment is concerned when more and more employers are not hiring youth under the age of twenty for promotable jobs. I am suggesting that the situation may worsen, and I don't think it's limited to the youth sector.

A New Definition of Economic Growth

Some advisors say we should forget career education until the fiscal and monetary policies work their magic, but I believe they are missing

the point. It's not a cyclical unemployment this time, and there is never going to be a return to full employment unless we pursue a new course. I don't think there will be anything like full employment ever again in this country until we do two things: establish a basically new concept of growth, and develop a basically new concept of work. If the future depends on the growth of the elements measured in the gross national product, I think we have had it.

We are finally beginning to recognize the implications of the present situation where 6 percent of the world's population consumes 40 percent of the world's basic resources. The world is not going to tolerate such waste. If the United States depends on the conversion of raw materials and natural resources within the earth's thin crust, as the basis for growth, I think we have had it.

An alternative may be to rely on the fuller development of the human resource. The Boundless Resource takes its title from the conviction that another basis for development exists. The prospect of specifically sustaining economic growth based on the larger development and use of the human resource is conceivable. I wish an economist would help in thinking that through.

Equally important is the development of a new meaning and concept of work. Let me illustrate. I assume there will never again be full employment unless we do several things, one of which is to think of service (both voluntary and paid) as work. We must regain some sense of satisfaction in doing things with our hands. I doubt there will be full employment until society once again attaches interest and value to things done by hand. I resented it when at the age of fifty-seven I had to retire until I discovered how much fun it is to accomplish things with my hands instead of my head. I suspect that eventually the kids will recognize the satisfactions in volunteer work and the manual arts as well as in the mental arts. I said kids; leave it kids for the moment.

I would therefore suggest, as the first step toward a policy of implementation, that we must redefine economic and national growth to include the notion of the value of human resources. Such resources should be developed as systematically as the natural variety.

For years I have considered education to be the conservative stronghold of American society, and politics and government to be the dynamic sector, but I think I have been wrong. I don't see change

occurring in the political agencies. This country is listening to a political litany in which the politicians and the press say what they believe the people want to hear, and by doing so, they make change impossible.

A new definition of the basic premise of our economic system will come from the schools or it won't develop at all. The job of education is to recondition, if you will, a whole generation's or nation's thinking about what work means and what growth means. If I were trying to develop a strategy for change, it would begin with an attempt to alter the thinking of this country about its economic future and earnings, and the only opportunity I see to do that is in the educational system. We must redefine work so that education can teach people the value of their contributions to growth. But educational institutions need the support of government. The strategy to change the identity of growth necessarily depends on the development of new collaborative processes at all levels--federal, state, and local--but particularly at the community level.

Participation Instead of Representation

We will probably consider legislative initiatives and the transfer of authority from the federal to the state level today, and I don't mean to disregard these issues. But the most critical point is the development of a collaborative process at a community level for a reason that transcends the particular question of education-work policy. It involves America's basic loss of confidence in all of democracy's established institutions in this country. The only way we can neutralize that loss is by developing participation as distinguished from representation.

Although the United States was born into the family of nations with a protest about taxation without representation, today the people are being forced to rely on representation. And I don't see revenue sharing and the decentralization of authority as offering a meaningful opportunity for participation as long as the shifts in responsibility are from one level of representative authority to another. The only way you can get people back in the act in this country is at the local level.

I don't mean to be naive about the opportunity for participation or the consequences. There are polls and studies about the public

interest which show that people are ready to act now because they are exasperated with the present institutions. They are ready to play a larger part themselves. They might have expressed themselves a little earlier, at least to the extent of voting. I don't know whether it's true that Americans are ready to get back into government or not, but the only place we will find out is at the local level.

Neither do I know whether the yeasting of the community by local government will work out or not. Yeast doesn't have a sense of its own; although beneficent to a loaf of bread, it is a little more erratic with the juice of a grape. I suppose the most obvious manifestations of community citizen involvement in education at the local level are in South Boston, Louisville, and Kanawha County, West Virginia. But I am not trying to knock it on that basis alone. E. B. White suggested that all democracy can be reduced to the sustaining suspicion that people will be right half the time, and don't ask for more. I am willing to take my chances on that. But people must get back into the democratic system directly rather than through a representative process.

In The Boundless Resource, we have tried to make a detailed argument of what could be done at the local level by a community education-work council, particularly in matters of guidance, counseling, and career education action. The objective is the development of a system that will permit children to come and go from school, not in a hit-or-miss fashion but on a considered practical basis. Significant assistance could be given by a local community in guidance, counseling, the administration of career education, occupational education, and work-study programs, and just as much could be done by a local community agency working to some extent outside the educational system. But such help opens up new problems. To the extent that implementation in this area depends on collaboration among the federal, state, and particularly local governments, there is an opportunity for citizen participation not available in other approaches to resource development.

Education and the Needs of Adults

There is a third and final part as far as implementation is concerned. We started out by saying that there are educational opportunities for everyone, especially when they are young. But the service is expensive, and it needs continuing, daily, monetary support. Education

in the United States is probably not going to be underwritten financially until formal learning is identified as being in the specific interest of adults as well as children. Bond issues will continue to be voted down until people think about an educational problem in terms of their own interests as well as the interests of the neighbors' children.

My wife and I dropped out of the P.T.A. when our children left the school system, and I think that most adults in the country do the same. Americans are pragmatic as well as philosophical. The future depends, as far as education is concerned, on the development of a constituency for change based on the interest of adults as well as on their interest in what children can do. Specifically we must recognize that fifty-one million adults in this country lack a high school education today. As nearly as we can work out the arithmetic, probably ten million of them would like to enroll in a secondary program. I don't think our ancestors stipulated in the social compact about free education that schooling had to be taken when young.

For every economic and pragmatic reason we should offer twelve years of free education the first time around. Particularly, we should consider more ways to make women the beneficiaries of the educational system. I can make a better argument for one year of free education for maternity service than I can for one year's free education in return for military service. More precisely, the public has an obligation to a person who must change occupations to bring that individual back to where he or she was before.

For the same reason, I would build into our society at least one year of deferred educational opportunity to be taken at any point along the line of a person's career. As a machine becomes less efficient with use, we reduce its work load or refit it; how much more sensible if we applied the same reasoning to people, and gave employees leaves of absence to rejuvenate their energies or to prepare themselves for other work.

The faster we can get people to interpret the needs of education in terms of their own interests, the sooner we will no longer have to worry about implementation. We will have reached our goal. To present the most challenging questions with respect to implementation, we must first convince the country that unemployment is a function of the

relationship between education and work. Awareness of this fact is infinitely more important today than it was in the past, and a good deal of the responsibility to get the message across to the public devolves inevitably to the schools.

Second, implementing necessarily depends on collaboration among governmental and citizen groups. The schools already recognize the necessity of working with other community agencies, but bridges can't be built from one shore alone.

Third, it is imperative that people begin to think about education in terms of their own interests and view it as a way to break up the routine of a lifetime. Education should be as much a part of work as work experience is a part of education.

MR. BAILEY: Thank you very much, Dr. Marland.

MR. MARLAND: Thank you, Dr. Bailey.

The credentials of Willard Wirtz as a commentator on the community are good. I can vouch for that. I first came to know Willard Wirtz twenty years ago in Winnetka, Illinois, when I was a young, sparkling school superintendent reordering the social studies curriculum. The Wirtzes were part of the community advisory council.

I, too, was deeply moved and inspired by The Boundless Resource. I had become sick of my own voice on the subject of career education over the previous four years, and the book put me back in harmony with myself. I could again believe that what I had been saying incompletely before was enumerated now differently, more completely, in a more scholarly fashion, and with, I assume Mr. Wirtz's own admission, the contributions of many other thoughtful and scholarly people. I therefore have a very high regard for Mr. Wirtz and his work.

I think the book has appeared just in time. It follows other important works in pointing new directions for secondary schools. In his introductory remarks, Dr. Bailey spoke of the need for colloquy, and certainly that is needed. But I think all the people in the federal government have been colloquializing ever since President Ford asked the heads of HEW and the Departments of Labor and Commerce to get together eighteen months ago. And I think Mr. Wirtz is pressing us, certainly not to suspend debate and colloquy, but to make moves and to make decisions as to moves.

Again, reflecting on the book, I value it apart from its content, wisdom, and richness, because it is written by a noneducator, and indeed a nonbusinessman. Mr. Wirtz is a citizen at large who brings us a lawyer's discipline of ordering thoughts and reaching conclusions.

What he asks for is a very large new social reform, the dimensions of which we cannot fully perceive with colloquy. The dimensions outstrip imagination, including the imagination implicit in the book, because the ramifications of the proposals could set forces to work that we do not comprehend. But the forces are there, and the chemistry is there. One of the central recommendations of the book concerns what Mr. Wirtz calls the Community Education-Work Councils, and I agree with that proposal. It gets back to what he did in Winnetka twenty years ago.

I ask that the seminar group discuss the councils, because the book doesn't quite resolve the matter of their authority. Laws affecting vocational education have existed for many years, going back to at least 1948. Before that, the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 provided for advisory councils.

Some people could easily say that we need more advisory councils made up of business, labor, and industry leaders from the local community. When I was superintendent in Pittsburgh, we had eighteen such councils concerned with crafts, industry, and technology. They were worthy and effective bodies of people, but they had no authority. We ignored their counsel at our peril, but we responded mostly with good will and "thank you very much."

Authority and the Advisory Role

Nowhere in The Boundless Resource does Mr. Wirtz call the education-work councils "advisory," but, on the other hand, I didn't see the word "authority" either. If we are going to talk about a major reform, we have to reevaluate the delegation of authority for education to the local school board. I was brought up in that tradition and care about it deeply. It has been jeopardized in recent years by the intrusions of labor unions and labor practices which have replaced citizens with representatives. But my fibers are deeply woven to the concept that people should run their schools, establishing school policies through a board of education. That philosophy has to be looked at very critically if we intend to give authority to what we are calling the education-work councils.

Authority generally means money, and Mr. Wirtz writes plainly that councils will need money. The funds for at least the first twenty groups, he suggests, will come from foundations or existing government authorizations. Perhaps, but such money would probably be spent on operations rather than used to allocate priorities.

So far, we are dealing with elementary and secondary education, which is the orientation of much current thought. We don't think of community involvement, for example, with Harvard, or Vassar, or Springfield. The community in those instances is usually considered to be primarily concerned with elementary and secondary schools. The book leaves me wishing that more attention had been given to the postsecondary domain, and perhaps Mr. Masiko will come to that.

Mr. Wirtz systematically deals with the opportunity for change at the community and local level, and I couldn't agree more that the place for reform is there. Nowhere else will change affect people's understanding and compassion as completely. Action won't come from the state or federal levels. But more needs to be done regarding postsecondary education for adults. K. Patricia Cross's research on adult learning gives strong signals, and many more investigations are out there waiting to be made known.

Legislation for Reform

Let's discuss legislation for the moment, because that is one of the things I suggest as an immediate outcome of the colloquy. The Education Amendments of 1972 and 1974 both addressed the problems of adult postsecondary education. The Amendments of 1972 did not use the term "career education" (except in very descriptive terms), but referred to "occupational education." But the bill spoke the same language as Willard Wirtz by bringing together education and work. The legislation was largely drafted by Congressman Quie and his associates. It became law, and it granted all the authority we need for education-work councils and reform.

The Amendments of 1974 dealt more explicitly with career education than did the 1972 Amendments, and it, too, used language that would be compatible with Mr. Wirtz's theory. So enabling legislation exists for education-work programs if we choose to interpret the Amendments in such a way.

But perhaps the most immediate opportunity for action resides in the Education Amendments of 1976, still before us. Representative Carl Perkins has introduced his own bill; Mr. Perkins and Mr. Quie jointly gave the issue high priority in their legislative planning for the immediate future and called it the Career Education Act of 1976. That Act was drafted from some of the recommendations of the National Advisory Council on Career Education, which submitted its report to Congress on 1 November 1975. The bill emerged three days later. The National Advisory Council in its report had urged that it be made easier for much of business, labor, and industry to engage in education at all levels. Now the Career Education Act remains silent on that point, giving it no encouragement, specificity, or direction, except to encourage discretion at the local level.

Our meeting would be of immediate use if we could get the Career Education bill that is now in motion to authorize funds explicitly for the experimental establishment of education-work councils in communities to be selected perhaps by HEW or the U.S. Commissioner of Education. In order to facilitate their development, the bill should declare that funding support for the councils be shared. The funds should be raised with foundation and industry participation, but allocation of a portion of the funds by law will give the concept of career education an enlarged importance and dignity, which it deserves.

Work for the Elderly

Let me make a small, nit-picking observation that gets back to one of Mr. Wirtz's strong points in counseling and the professional educational counseling domain. He has addressed the topic of our denigration of the elderly at other times, and I share his deep feelings about the subject. But when he asks for a way to bring the reality of the work place into the lives of students--and we both include post-secondary students--he does not include older adults in that domain. Could he include in his concept a very real and respectful role for the elderly that they might contribute their accumulated knowledge to young people in school and college?

Instead of being part of the problem, older adults would be part of the solution. I know this can work. I could tell you a long story, but I won't, of Howard Bean, a retired advertising executive who at age

sixty when I met him, was no longer useful to his agency. Today, twenty years later, Howard is running the volunteer system throughout the Chicago area, which involves hundreds of people. He claims he would have died fifteen years ago if he had not gotten into volunteer work or his work with gifted and talented children. Today he is probably a happier, healthier, and more basically fulfilled human being than he was when he was in the advertising business.

Purpose of Career Education

The dreadful prognosis for the so-called overeducated person or the underutilization of the educated person that Mr. Wirtz has emphasized today is one on which I have concurred for at least five years. I don't know the cure, but we have certainly got to find one. You will remember that only 20 percent of the work force will require a four-year education by the year 1980. I don't trust that statistic very much. I think it a prediction that has been generally accepted, and it undoubtedly has influenced our thinking. Whether it is 30 or 20 or 50 percent of the work force that will be utilized, we are encouraging everyone to go to college.

Let's say that in the future the figure will remain 50 percent, give or take a few percentage points. If only 20 percent of those people are utilized in the work force, what does that say to us? That is one of the deep questions asked in this book. Many people have misunderstood education, believing that either you go to college for the development of the human spirit or you go for the vocational experience. Not so. If anything, career education at its very heart strengthens formal learning by giving purposefulness to the academic student. Career education brings reality closer to the individual as he makes decisions about what he wants to do with his life. This person can listen to the counselor or liberal arts professor, but a career program relates outside experiences. And the conclusion that can be drawn implicitly by the number of you who are here, is that the liberal arts must be made exciting and meaningful. Young people have learned not because a professor taught them, but because they craved a philosophy, a history, arts, a foreign language, and political science that has meaning for their lives. That is what career education is about.

It doesn't mean the fourth-grade teacher suddenly is teaching auto

mechanics. Quite the contrary. Adaptive forms of learning in the lives of people are fulfilling not only in the intellectual and moral realm, but in the occupational area as well. We must stop assuming that career education is vocational education.

Freeman Butts, Columbia education historian and philosopher, addressing the question of "Education for Tomorrow, Whom, Why?" at the seventy-fifth annual meeting of the College Board, predicted, "Education for tomorrow will be developed in the direction of liberty, equality, and political community."

Willard Wirtz, taking a different route, has arrived at the same conclusion. Educators should teach political community as a fundamental component at all levels of schooling so that we no longer have, as Stephen Bailey notes, the estrangement of youth from institutions-- indeed, the hostility of youth toward our democratic establishment. To answer Mr. Wirtz's request for a strategy, I would say the action must occur at the local level balanced by some facilitating legislation from federal and state levels.

Mr. Perkins has made it very clear--both in formal language on the floor and to me in conversation--that he invites critical comments and suggestions regarding his bill. Participation, therefore, is the key, and learning how to participate anew in our society as a product of education quite apart from vocation seems to me a part of the large, new reform Mr. Wirtz is asking for.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: Thank you very much, indeed. Now we will hear from Peter Masiko, President of Miami-Dade Community College, working on the frontiers of postsecondary education.

MR. MASIKO: Thank you, Dr. Bailey.

I had a hard time reading The Boundless Resource. I had to read it in snatches here and there, and I marked it up rather fiercely, but I went over it, I think, four or five times. I enjoyed it. I agreed with most of it. I think I could live with its thesis. But I still have some rather perplexing problems with the author's recommendations, especially regarding implementation. In his opening remarks, Mr. Wirtz indicated that this country can't continue to consume 40 percent of the world's resources. Unfortunately, I suspect that a goodly segment of this country's population considers itself deprived enough to qualify

as part of the Third World. The expectations of these people are still rising. To tell the have-nots now that we have got to change our sights, that we must give up thinking in terms of goods and concentrate more on services will be hard to peddle when they haven't had a fair chance at the grab. I think it is a concern that has to be faced.

Mr. Wirtz acknowledges a need to transform radically the way people think and act in this country. Nothing short of such change is going to get the job done. We have got to think differently. We are not doing things right. As I went back over my marked passages in the book, I read that the schools are failures, the elementary schools are failures, the secondary schools are a failure, politicians are a failure. Yet you would meld all the failures together--and come out with a success?

Leadership for Councils

I am probably being harsh in my opening remarks, because we at the community college are working with the community, almost as broadly as Mr. Wirtz has indicated all educators should do. We haven't coalesced the community in one working relationship, but we work with all of its elements in one or more ways, and it's a tough job. As Mr. Marland pointed out, as long as the community members are made to know they are advisory--and this is a hard point of view to sell--you can get along. I am suggesting here that somebody has got to be in charge, or the thing isn't going to work, and I want to know who it will be. The only one I can trust is me, and I don't trust me half the time. There has to be someone directing. Who is going to trust whom? The problem is enormous; the stakes are large. You have got to get going. Who is going to be in charge? Who is going to put it together?

I have not seen an answer anywhere in the book. Everyone is looking for suggestions. In all seriousness, I don't have one. Somewhere in this country, I guess, there has got to be leadership that will coordinate a meaningful operation among all of the agencies and groups we are trying to bring together to work on the problem.

For twenty years I have been promoting career education in community colleges, and it has been a very interesting experience, as Mr. Marland has said, trying to meld general or liberal education with some of the specific requirements of various job-oriented or career-oriented

programs. Miami-Dade Community College has at least sixty such offerings. It is our responsibility at the college level to bring aspects of general education into these programs. Sometimes we succeed; sometimes we don't.

We are working with all age groups now, starting with sixteen-year-olds all the way up to the top. I think the inclusion of people in the retirement categories is mandatory. You have got to do it. In Miami, the elderly are such a substantial part of the population that there has to be a concern for them. Yet, this is precisely the area that is getting the ax as the legislature cuts back support for schools. I would like to hope that somewhere in this country we could get leadership to reverse such decisions and to make education-work councils assist in that connection.

Meaningful Jobs for Youngsters

A good part of The Boundless Resource is concerned with the attitude of young people coming out on the job market and what we can do to make that first job a pleasant and profitable experience. Assessing my personal experience, I would say I was rather a stick-in-the-mud. I always thought of myself as having two major jobs: one with the community for twenty-three years and the other with Miami-Dade for fourteen years. I don't move about much. I can, however, identify twenty different types of work besides my regular professional career work for which I have been paid. Most of these I positively wouldn't want to do for a living. I am old enough to have lived through the Depression, a time when you didn't question much what you did to make a buck. Here was a job; did it pay money? If the answer was yes, you took it. You can't do that in today's world. I used to think it was absolutely cruel when old-timers would say, "What this country needs is a good old-fashioned depression to make people appreciate the value of a buck or the importance of a job." I still don't like to hear such words, but I have to admit that some people for the first time, and particularly the younger ones, are beginning to appreciate what is involved in making a buck and handling a job.

Do we have to have hard economic times to bring forth these feelings? I would like to hope not. If I remember somebody's statistics, and I am not a bug on statistics, my understanding is that we had a

fantastic growth of whatever is defined economically as the middle class after World War II. Is that true, Mr. Wirtz?

MR. WIRTZ: You mean in the baby boom?

MR. MASIKO: Yes.

MR. WIRTZ: Yes, we did.

MR. MASIKO: This country was able to provide the economic base for a general uplifting collectively of many millions of American citizens.

MR. WIRTZ: That is true.

MR. MASIKO: As I understand Mr. Wirtz's earlier remarks, he believes that such economic upgrading may not be possible any more--at least not to the same extent--in terms of providing the goods or material aspects of our economic life. I wonder whether in fact this economic upgrading was a chance of a lifetime in the history of this nation? If it was, do we have to give up trying to reproduce it? I may be playing the role of the devil's advocate, so I ask, Are we basically looking for acceptable answers to the question of how to distribute wealth more equitably in the United States? Is this a necessary outcome if our economic and our democratic way of life is to remain essentially intact? If so, is the route pointed out by The Boundless Resource the best approach to what lies ahead?

Another basic question: Is our basic concern to make people happier with their lot in life, or with their jobs, or both? If it is, I would like to know how in the world you are going to get anybody, including young people, to feel happy working in a coal mine or on a garbage truck. Both are essential occupations, but I don't know how you are going to make people delight in such jobs. More particularly, how do you get people to be happy living in slums? This is our concern.

Portable Benefits for Lifetime Work

You mentioned the serious problems, Mr. Wirtz. It seems to me the issue involves obsolescence, where people just hold on to jobs because there is nothing else to do; all of the benefits and whatever security they have are tied to seniority. Maybe we need to develop some new techniques, new job rights so that as soon as a person is gainfully employed, he would pay a tax like Social Security. He would take his savings wherever he goes, but he would not lose seniority or other

rights when he moves from a job. I wonder whether it might not be beneficial or desirable to make it possible for this employee not to have to start at the bottom again when changing jobs. If there is anything characteristic of the American today it is his mobility, however you define it, from job to job, from town to suburb, from state to state.

One of the things I know the statistics will bear out is the tremendous production generated by the self-employed and by small businesses and, on top of that, the tremendous failure rate of people going into business for themselves. A lot of people like the idea of not having a boss to tell them what to do. They want to be their own boss, and I think there is a lot in that feeling that pertains to the concepts discussed in Mr. Wirtz's book. Something should be done to prepare people before we allow them to go into business for themselves and risk tremendous failure. Such enterprise ought to be encouraged, but not by hit-or-miss methods. We need more information and less regulation. Having been the head of two small colleges, I know the headaches involved in trying to run a small business. They drive you up the wall, particularly if you have no preparation for what may come.

I think there will always be room for small service occupations, small stores, small shops, and, as Mr. Wirtz mentioned, handwork. Doing things with your hands is a tremendous outlet, but a business operation must produce a living. We take it for granted that people learn how to handle the management aspect of business, but they just don't learn it. Careful attention has to be given to the development of business skills.

The handling of a second and even a third job by the chief breadwinner is a fairly general characteristic of American society. When the economy is depressed, it is not unusual for business to cut the "extra help." The unemployment rate, which I suspect does not reflect the loss of auxiliary work, does not indicate the depressed living standard of people dependent on a second job. In the same general category are those workers who lose standard overtime work when times get tough. Thus the unemployment rate is not in this sense a full reflection of the loss of income and living standard of the families involved, and I don't know how we can get an accurate indication of people's hardships. Even in the field of education, there is a large percentage of our faculty who hold second jobs, much of the work having no relation to their professional training.

I had the privilege of reading about eight or nine responses to Mr. Wirtz's book from people in charge of community colleges in fairly large communities throughout the country. There was not a single dissenting voice in terms of all-out support for Mr. Wirtz's document. Each volunteered to be one of the twenty-five communities to be selected if and when this proposal goes through. I am not volunteering for Miami-Dade necessarily, but I won't refuse the offer.

The challenge is there, no doubt about it. The questions I raised here are serious with me, and I thought maybe I could contribute something by just laying them on the table for general discussion.

COMMENTS AND RESPONSES

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: Before turning the meeting over to Willard Wirtz for comments on the comments, I want to express my own, I think, quite radical view of what a youth policy should contain if we are to effectuate the recommendations of The Boundless Resource. I don't think the local level can accomplish enough. You are not going to get people to take charge unless there are some resources to be in charge of. I think we have got to start with a federal-national policy, which offers a work-study combination to young people between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. Students would earn a minimum wage but only one-third to one-half of their earnings would be paid to them in cash; the rest would be set aside for education.

A Federal Policy for Youth Employment

Young people could be hired on a part-time basis, say, up to fifteen hours a week when they are fourteen, and up to twenty hours when they are fifteen years or older. The opportunity for employment must be in public service areas that are largely neglected, such as working with the indigent aged in our society. Our big urban centers have inadequate recreation facilities; teenage workers could build more. For young people in rural areas, there is the opportunity to help a world feed the one-half to two-thirds of its population that is hungry. These are just three among a dozen needs of this society.

If we open up work opportunities for youngsters, with pay we set aside for their future education, we can begin the process of training

them in the fundamental skills of work--coming to work on time, being held accountable for certain standards of performance. These are fundamental and transferable skills which, in a world that is not going to open up for everybody, have perhaps a longer-lasting benefit than we realize. These work opportunities can show young people that there is a certain part of life that will be devoted mostly to repetitive jobs, but there is a condition for doing all work well enough to warrant being paid for them.

At the same time, the policy is saying to the educational establishment that only 90,000 out of 900,000 hours of life are going to be spent working; education ought to be devoted proportionally to the specific problems of both areas of life. A youth policy has got to give young people who are maturing at a younger age an opportunity to earn modest spending money now. Both the country and the young workers need a chance to invest in their educational future, because only part of that future is going to involve the world of work.

So I toss that out as a direction for federal policy which in turn would have to be implemented by the kinds of local councils that Mr. Wirtz has been talking about.

MR. MARLAND: That theme echoes one of the earlier notions that came out of the Frank Newman study,² then called the New GI Bill. Is it related to that study, or is it a wholly new idea?

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: It is not wholly new at all, and I am indebted to Frank Newman for insight and to Roger Heyns for stimulating my thinking about this policy. We have asked Paul Barton and Dennis Gallagher to take Frank Newman's statement and to try in the next month or so to put this in some kind of policy language. Mr. Wirtz, do you want to react to what has been said so far?

MR. WIRTZ: So far I hear said a couple of things. First, Dr. Marland and Mr. Masiko both point to the incompleteness of our suggestion to create a public forum at the local level, and it is a thorny question.

²Frank Newman et al., Report on Higher Education, Report to the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971).

Bonding Community and Education Efforts

Maybe it will help a little to remember the perimeters of our study as marked out in the Report of the National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education. This report has been eighteen to twenty months in the editing process, and I gather that it contains a specific proposal for a community guidance center and for a community resource center. The National Panel goes all the way and says, let's set up a new bunch of people at the local level. I don't think that will work, because I don't think the advisory function is going to be enough at the local community level. The National Panel has done an excellent job of delineating the job of the community council, and they apparently have recommended that the council function only in an advisory capacity.

I hope we might come back to that issue. It is critical at the local level. But I would like to consider the question, What is the normal initiative that would in some way act as a catalyst to bond community efforts to those of education? Maybe we ought to be talking about what we can do right now to get legislation that provides a base for an alliance.

I have felt that the educational community has been opposed to joint efforts. If you get down to specifics, the politicians are willing and anxious to receive any suggestions regarding implementation, but there is an assumption on the Hill that the educational community is resisting.

MR. MARLAND: Resisting the idea?

MR. WIRTZ: Yes, and resisting the idea of whether the public at the local level is to be brought into the act in any way. I rather think the reaction in the educational establishment is negative. Yet when we get down and talk about it, education's spokesmen seem perfectly willing to expand the community role. I would love to explore your suggestion further about a different form of catalyst. I also hope we can get back to the administrative problem of how to bring the public in at the local level. I have been representing the community for thirty years.

Minority Expectations

FROM THE FLOOR: I hope we will be able to return to Peter Masiko's point about individuals who have really not had any of the goods yet. One-third of the black population is now below the age of fifteen. You talk about youth unemployment! Last year, 400,000 more blacks went into

poverty, and 400,000 whites came out. It is the difference in numbers that we are concerned with here. But I think we have got to focus on the very peculiar and devastating problem of the expectations of minority groups as we attempt to draft new policies that would otherwise seem to fit very well.

MR. WIRTZ: I hope we do discuss the matter further, because I think at this point my reaction to the position of what we have called euphemistically "the disadvantaged" is quite different from yours. They will be best served, not by a program directed specifically toward them, but by a broad-range program that is bound to make them the principal beneficiaries. We start from the same conviction, but there is, again, a very critical pragmatic question of whether society should provide the disadvantaged with programs beamed at them or with programs that have a broader scope.

Future Choices in National Service

FROM THE FLOOR: I am prompted to broach the question of career education as a working concept by a rather dramatic statement from Future Shock by Albert Toffler on the school as a work place. I don't know if everybody read that, but it says the usual thing about school as a preparation for the world of work routine, getting to work on time, and so forth. We seem to be talking about extending to national service the goal of training youngsters to conform to the needs of business and industry. We should ask ourselves whether or not we find this an attractive proposition: youth as well as the rest of us conforming to the needs of the work place as it seems to look at the moment. That is not a terribly happy prospect. At least as a part of our program for career education or national service, perhaps we ought to discuss what goes on when people do pursue these careers. Maybe we should also be talking about how we should change the nature of work. The second is, are the jobs and the conditions of the working place all that desirable that we should be training people to fit them?

MR. WIRTZ: For whatever it is worth, my reaction is totally affirmative to every suggestion you may have made. In personal terms, I wouldn't be the least bit interested if national service were simply another step in fitting education into the work demands of the post-industrial revolution. You speak of Toffler; in a subsequent book on

education he has gone further along this line of reasoning than I am suggesting here. When we talk about broadening the concept of work, it would include service and volunteer aspects as well as other types of service and the improvement of leisure.

When you consider the broader issues, you have got to attend to the whole initiative about quality of work, and change the dominion of work in its traditional form. Over the adult life, work has been cut by one-third.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: I think this is right, and most of the people in this room would not object at all to your formulation of the issue. I don't see the highly rationalized technological society suddenly disappearing. I am concerned both with preserving the opportunities this society presents and assuring all members of society an equal chance for those opportunities. At the same time, the people are induced to think more creatively about the ways they spend their time, both on and off jobs.

The Boundless Resource contains a chapter which deals essentially with the dual problem of how to train people for a world they really don't want when they get there. So the double educational goal is to help people to grow and to gain full employment at the same time that you induce them to think creatively about improving the quality of work.

Manpower Needs of Volunteer Service

FROM THE FLOOR: With the increased cost of living, how realistic is it to think people will use free time for volunteer service? Take the cost of medical service as one example, or look at the cost of everything else we are induced to buy. Aren't you really going to have to change the nature of needs before you can find people willing to give?

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: There are an extraordinary number of people in this society right now who contribute part of their lives to all kinds of volunteer service. Hundreds of thousands, millions of hours a week are contributed by people on a volunteer basis simply because it makes them feel needed or makes them seem to be better human beings. People of all ages are giving their time, although I think the elderly, especially, could increase their role in this area.

In my previous incarnation as chief executive officer of a city, I had the most rewarding experience psychologically when I realized the number of citizens who volunteered hour after hour after hour for

boards, commissions, recreational supervision, Little League--you name it. This goes on all over the country all the time. There are volunteers out there right now, and with just a little bit of additional effort in organizing and structuring opportunities, we could have a lot more. Maybe I am being too optimistic.

MR. MASIKO: College students can do a tremendous amount in the same area if you can find activities to which they can relate.

We have an Operation Student Concern, a peer counseling program. Kids put in a fabulous amount of time helping out their own kind. We also have youngsters going to nursing homes on their own time and coming back with tremendous thoughts. We have kids going out to agencies, day-care operations, and getting really outstanding experience. Many of the students are planning to go into teaching, but they volunteer their time for the service experience and for the contribution to the community. If you know how to reach young people, what to appeal to, you can get a commitment.

FROM THE FLOOR: Let me give quantitative data. The U.S. Census Bureau did a survey in 1974, similar to the U.S. Labor Department's in 1965, on the number of volunteers. In 1964, there were 24.3 million volunteers; in 1974 there were 36.8 million volunteers, and they represented an absolute increase of 50 percent and a participation rate increase of 33 percent over that.

FROM THE FLOOR: I just wanted to speak up for volunteers. I spent two years with VISTA in Chicago. I see some of the alternative costs of service programs rising very, very quickly.

The policy structures that are being proposed for youth employment could carry McDonald's motto: "We do it all for you." The question is, who makes up the community work councils? I see industry, labor, and the general public, but not the people who have self-interest as opposed to the people being processed. People use information to make use of these systems. They get it from families, from peers, and way down the line they get it from counselors, teachers, and other sources. I would like to find some form of implementation that might fit into both a local and some kind of national effort to explain what it is that the implementers are trying to do to help the people.

The constituency would be based on student and family units that would run the organization and be responsible for the ultimate

usefulness of data put out. On top of that would be providers. It is the building of that kind of structure that is crucial to the effort. Otherwise, we are going to get job service announcement thinking--come down, do this, be more productive, I like your work--something like that. An effective education-work council is going to have to operate at that level where people get the message: You have a right to education; you put up something; you go to work and put away part of your income because it comes from the people you know you can halfway trust. Such a program probably will make a big impact and, therefore, it would require a national operation.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: That is the way the credibility of anything is built. Yet every twenty years we seem to throw away entire structures and build new ones. Perhaps I look at the issue in terms of educational opportunities. But I see that education's information systems are going to collide because everybody is trying to put a data bank and processing unit in every high school. HEW and the Department of Labor will have a war over who is to run these things, and CETA will be at war with every council. How do we collect data? We want to pose the question in terms of individual development. But those systems have not been designed to help students except in relation to somebody else's purposes.

Change Through Definition of the Problem

FROM THE FLOOR: As I understand this afternoon, the master question is how do we get from here to there, "here" meaning a cluster of issues and problems which we all share a concern about and have a lot of agreement about. The best way to get change in the country is to put forward a clear definition of the problem and of what governmental structure is necessary to organize people and to get them moving on that problem.

Clarity and appreciation is the crux of making people aware of the problem, be it Sputnik or whatever. The book has too high a tolerance for the broad relationships between education and work without putting forward a compelling definition of what the problem or problems are. Then it moves to a fairly specific design for the solution, that is, education-work councils in which, I imagine, there are lots of people brought together in communities and organizations around an unresolved question.

I would say the same about the national service idea. We could organize the kind of experiences we all think should happen without going into the kind of national modeling we have done in the past. There is a lot of ferment within the Democratic party now, suggesting that maybe we didn't create as successful a national model as sometimes we thought we had. Just the same sort of uneasiness can be heard in conversation about how we get change.

I propose that we really need to reexamine the problem. I would appreciate Mr. Wirtz addressing himself to that.

MR. WIRTZ: It is a fair comment. We start on the theory that there is something to be done about process, and that perhaps not only the answers but also the problem will emerge from that process. Maybe we are wrong. I suppose most lawyers are influenced by Oliver Wendell Holmes's dictum, "The life of the law is not logic but experience." I expect I would have to plead guilty to that kind of pragmatism. It is quite true that the approach here depends on the process, not only for the answer, but for the indication of the problem as well.

I would defend that approach, not to the exclusion of another, but along the lines of my definition. It may very well be that another strategy ought to be tried here to take fuller advantage of whatever experience this kind of process already produces.

The Boundless Resource has not sold well, and it will not sell a lot of copies. We were fortunate to have almost all of the public notices of the book refer to it as a report. Scotty Reston doesn't want to be a book reviewer, so he called it a report. The mail response to the "report" reveals an extraordinary number of experiments of one kind or another around the country, not the precise model that the book recommends at all, but coming close to it. They say, "Come talk; we have something working here, and we would like to hash it out with you." It is the same thing we are doing here today.

My point is that probably we should find out what the process is producing. Perhaps I have taken advantage of your question, but my only honest answer is that we are relying here more on the process than on the identity of a problem or a particular answer.

Motivations for National Service

FROM THE FLOOR: There is a gut reaction that lots of forces in society are undermining the capacity for individuals to have a sense

of efficacy, identification, and participation or control over their destiny. That feeling probably hits the fourteen- or seventeen-year-old hardest. It is the matter of how we develop participation and some feeling of membership in a larger community that I would hope education-work councils would consider foremost on their agenda all the time.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: From the standpoint of national service, my reaction is that I was brought up during a period when the federal government was thought to be part of the solution, not just part of the problem. And I have trouble getting over that notion. I look upon the federal government as a lock on private enterprise, and state and local governments as simply an instrument for doing something. In some cases they can be useful, and in some cases they can't. So I have no desire to set up a gigantic CCC Camp, run out of Washington. Some transfers, however, take place by federal appropriations, which--appropriately and creatively administered at the local level--could make a difference.

FROM THE FLOOR: In the national service arena, the approach differs depending on whether you are a psychologist or educator. You are motivated to give service to your fellow man or to the nation, or because there is work to be done for the community, or you have to grow up, or you have to make a transition from school to work, or whatever. The problem is that we haven't been able to find a single problem that needs a single solution; instead we have a set of various concerns, each of which is as different as the individual who perceives them. So the kind of national service I think we are talking about is one that would have sufficient flexibility to enable the young people from some state, from sixteen to twenty-four, to engage in a community service that would enable them to grow in the way each needs to grow.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: If what we are dealing with was not complex, it presumably would have been solved some time ago. I like to believe that John Gardner has lots of pieces to this puzzle lying around and could put them together.

Community Internship

FROM THE FLOOR: How do you put them together?

MR. WIRTZ: I suggest, for purposes of discussion, that it is time to replace the term "national service" with a different phrase, and the closest I can come is "community internship." Community internship

doesn't connote work or service; therefore, as a new name, it may help to solve your problem.

We could simply say the problem is there: Some variety of experience ought to be brought into young lives, at the ages of fourteen to seventeen. Certainly they should be exposed to work and community service of one kind or another. We say to the local community that we think this is a good enough idea. And it isn't, "We, the federal government"; it is we, the country as a whole, saying we think it is a good idea to proceed at a local community level to introduce variety into the educational preparatory experience. We, the country, will underwrite the efforts made on a local community basis. The local community should find out what opportunities there are--work, service, whatever they may be--and then add to them the kind of thing that Dr. Bailey has talked about here. We will scrape together up to five billion dollars to underwrite the community.

I am trying to avoid the stereotypes that stand in the way. I think it will be a long time before the country will adopt a ten-billion-dollar national service program. It is too big an idea to buy. If we can find some new approach with different semantics to produce a local community rather than national program, I think we ought to reach for it.

Models for Volunteer Programs

FROM THE FLOOR: Are we talking about another Peace Corps or a model such that the government would provide incentives and help to fund programs--something like the Trudeau government's six-million-dollar summer youth project?

I really think there is a neoconservatism at large in the country. Young people themselves are also pretty suspicious of administered solutions.

MR. WIRTZ: That is what I was reaching for. Sometimes I think I will stop supporting the national government the minute it stops supporting me. But I just find myself thinking more and more that we have got to shift the center of gravity from the national to the local government. Only three things give me pause. One is that financing still has to be done through a central clearinghouse.

FROM THE FLOOR: We had such a mechanism in the Community Action Program, and it created havoc, although it was compatible with local government.

MR. WIRTZ: The federal government never took its heavy hand off that.

FROM THE FLOOR: In Syracuse, Community Action went down the drain because of the resistance of the local powers.

FROM THE FLOOR: In that instance, there were those who saw to it that Community Action did not continue.

MR. MARLAND: As I hear you discussing this, I come back to the point I made this morning--that one of the uncertainties in these conversations is postsecondary education. When you talk of an age group in relation to the service concept, you mean fifteen- to nineteen- or sixteen- to eighteen-year-olds, although that age group does not have the same set of problems that are addressed by postsecondary education, especially by colleges and universities.

The term "intern" or "working intern" has been used earlier in our conversation, and it has even more specificity to the postsecondary level than it has to elementary or secondary education. A good example is in Pittsburgh where Chatham College, an exemplar of a classic women's liberal arts college, has a city internship program.

Applications to Postsecondary Education

Since there appears to be a movement toward helping people in colleges and universities to enrich their lives with occupationally oriented instruction and to sustain themselves as well-developed people with the humanities and liberal arts, do we see an opportunity for the thesis of this book to be applied to postsecondary settings? I had in mind the changing rules and regulations affecting employment and getting enlightened legislation that could make community work-education programs feasible. Finally, do you see the message of your book as a response to such a movement?

MR. WIRTZ: I surely do. I would be less than frank if I were to say I think the problem we are considering is larger and clearer at the level of secondary education than it is at the postsecondary level. I don't know. You know so much more about it than I do. It seems career education has caught on so much more at the elementary level than at the secondary level, and one has to ask why. Some of the answers are not very nice, because they assume the solidification of vocational education at the secondary level. So I see a more serious problem at the

postsecondary level than I do at the elementary or secondary levels. But what we are talking about is just as relevant to postsecondary education, if not more so, if education is to be a significant part of the adult experience. The largest opportunity for the combination of youth and education is at the postsecondary level, the community level, and the community colleges. My answer is yes. We just didn't explore it in The Boundless Resource, but, yes.

MR. MARLAND: Then I suggest one small agenda item. I think there needs to be a different kind of mechanism for the postsecondary work-education programs, because the system is not community-oriented, and the large, four-year institutions are relatively independent.

Unemployable Youngsters

FROM THE FLOOR: I think part of the problem is that we are trying to address solutions to reflect the problem itself.

Higher education representatives are talking about what higher education might have to do with education-service policies. To my mind, that is almost irrelevant. In another context elementary and secondary people talk about career education and, to my mind, that talk is almost irrelevant. Why? Because very few major employers hire anybody younger than twenty-one. That is the employment side.

On the education side, we are dumping about two-thirds of all of the young people into the labor market at age sixteen or seventeen. What do we do with these kids or what do the kids do with themselves between the time they leave school and the time they are eligible for some kind of significant employment four or five years later? That, I submit, is a problem. One in four young people drop out before they graduate from high school, which means at age sixteen they have to wait roughly five years before they can do anything, if, indeed, they ever can do anything.

Career education in the schools has really nothing to do with this basic set of conditions. The question is, what do you do with kids, after they leave school, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one? They represent two-thirds of all the youth in the United States.

MR. WIRTZ: That is a more pragmatic definition of the issue than anything else we have said here today, but a much broader set of problems is involved here, too. In terms of the continuum of education-

work, the enriching of work and so forth, the problem as you see it isn't in disagreement with the larger questions. It is in affirmation. I think your perceptions can be understood more readily by the public as a whole than anything we have said so far today.

FROM THE FLOOR: But the utilization of young people is a hot issue around the country. You can sit next to anybody on the train and talk about the facts.

Most of the totalitarian countries have well-developed youth policies, and if you assume that the good of society depends on the orderly transition to adulthood, those societies seem to be doing fine, whereas the free societies of the world are raising all sorts of questions about their youth. In the New York Times this morning, a big article reported how upset France is about youth unemployment. What does this mean to the future well-being of our society and that of all free societies if every single one of them has problems with their youth? And unemployment is a hot topic everywhere. You can talk about this problem, I think, more concretely than you can about education and work in general.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: You have to come full circle because the solution to the particular problem you have identified may well be to redefine what we mean both by education and by work. It may be that when somebody drops out or graduates from high school without a job, we will have to find ways for them to continue to grow educationally outside of the formal education system; at the same time, we need to give them some financial stake in their development.

FROM THE FLOOR: A map of the current social structure could be made, and elements such as continuing education programs, adult education programs, or work-study programs could be identified as agents that can deal with each aspect of the overall problem. It is clear that we are in an area where a lot of problems overlap, a lot of efforts have been made, and probably one of the major risks we run today is that we are talking about ideas that have already occurred to others.

We are trying to define one problem that has indefinite parameters, but one could galvanize all of its parts into a powerful policy once it was identified. Look at the statement, "We want to get a man on the moon." That is the most primitive, goddamned expression of a

national goal ever to be heard from this country, and look at the consequence. It energized basic research in a new area; it energized technology; it had an impact on funding patterns of the federal government; it affected the fellowship program. We are not now looking for something that embraces all of these areas and we would be dead if we were to try a piecemeal implementation. But let's find an approach that has the best chance to energize all of society. It will deal with the attitudes of employers toward improving conditions of work. We have to get something together that will do something about these problems.

Support for Community Initiatives

FROM THE FLOOR: We need leadership that will strike creativity at all levels. I recall we were thinking several months ago of ways to amend the work-study program to expand the work experiences of college students off campus because some people felt that was where the real benefits were accruing. But we discovered that the work-study program accounts for approximately 5 percent of the student employment, and within that 5 percent, 90 percent of the students worked on campus. Even if the money put into college work-study programs were doubled, the results would make only a small dent in the problem. The big employment sector is outside the college work-study program.

I have just visited an Indian reservation and school in South Dakota where 71 percent of the school budget came from property taxes. Indian reservations, however, have no such taxes. Johnson-O'Malley money supplied 24 percent of the whole budget, but it is being phased out. This seems to me to be an example of how a good initiative by the federal government over a few years became a stable base, with the result that community efforts were phased out. It is difficult with such precedents to get the community behind something.

In developing some grand federal funding scheme for youth work programs we may be running the same risk of losing community participation and initiative if we are not careful. Youths have trouble getting employment because many have no experience. They have little self-confidence because they have never been put in a situation where they have learned it. I approve of some of the colleges around the country that make community service a requirement for graduation. The kids do not resent it or say that they lack time for service. In fact, they say

their greatest insights about themselves and others come from their community undertakings.

I wonder if we have to start way down in elementary school giving all students, including the minorities, a chance to learn and to feel the intangible benefits of helping their peers, families, their neighborhoods, school building, whatever, on a voluntary basis. Let the parents and the kids paint the school room the color they want. That may be a silly example, but very few schools in the country would allow parents or students to paint the walls.

When children enter high school, they can move outside the school building and work with employers and service agencies ten hours a week. The education system would be producing a person who is more interested and able at age sixteen or seventeen to make a contribution. Employers would sense that they now have a prospective employee who may be of some immediate value. But right now the most unemployable group of people, according to employers, are the youngsters who never had a job. They don't know how to work with anyone else, and they don't have anything to offer. Furthermore, training is a nuisance. I think that attitude could be turned around over a period of years.

My kids are seven and ten years old. They get home at 2:30. I have to put up lists on the refrigerator and work at keeping them occupied because the teachers, unless they get a different contract, have no reason to hang around the schools. Children have a substantial amount of free time that could be put to good use if some adult would just coordinate the kids in the neighborhood to do something.

Sadly, on university campuses the faculty members are often the last ones in the community to want to take ten hours a week from their scholarship and teaching to provide such leadership. It is my impression that not many Cub Scout leaders, Boy Scout leaders, or Little League dads are to be found among college faculty.

✓ FROM THE FLOOR: I think community internship or public service is the answer that we have been seeking. If you have given a group something to do, you have given it a function. Working for the welfare of the young and the society is an inspiring purpose. The community will have a fair amount of local control, and it can then begin to match dollars.

Measurement of Career Education Benefits

FROM THE FLOOR: What can we say about the consequences of programs for youth who leave school? Mr. Wirtz has been talking, among other topics, about how we can get youngsters who would be relegated to the secondary labor force into the primary labor force. One way is to give them the kinds of experiences through community internship that they would not have had for a variety of reasons. At least in terms of trying to assess the consequences of certain dimensions of career education, one tangible result would be to show that you were moving youngsters into the primary labor force.

How can we best get our ideas implemented? We ought to try to do a cost benefit analysis and state the objectives of career education. Can we spell them out in sufficient detail so we could measure the degree of achievement? Can we, furthermore, put monetary values on the different components of career education and relate them to cost? Those of us who tend to play the economic game have a very different perspective from those of you who are more politically oriented. I am not suggesting that the one is better than the other, but political arguments need as much hard evidence and information about the consequences and the beneficiaries as economic analyses offer if we are to convince the skeptics.

MR. MARLAND: My response would be that career education--new though it is as a system but old as an idea--has begun to be measured.

The statistics concerning the vast number of people who are disengaged are very limited so far, but a fairly substantial evaluation will be completed this April. In Oregon the schools have had a tremendous ability to hold youngsters through the twelve years, because pupils feel more in control of their lives and their education. That sense of self-determination is due to the impact of one part of their education.

The disadvantaged child, from depressed situations where children are normally expected to gain, at best, half of the conventional norm, is gaining one year to one-and-one-half years. This has happened in controlled studies in Miami-Dade, in Tennessee and Kentucky. Such investigations may be straws in the wind and not convincing research, but the preliminary evidence is reassuring.

FROM THE FLOOR: To me, the problem is the out-of-school out-of-work cohort, which is huge. Some experts take a much more benign

attitude toward employment developments. They believe that hiring youth in the secondary labor market on the whole is not a bad thing, because it gives youngsters an opportunity to move around, explore different areas, find themselves.

A second perspective comes from Frank Fisher, placement director at Harvard, who made a case in a recent magazine article for Harvard graduates becoming cab drivers. His thesis is that we are thinking in very traditional and perhaps obsolete terms when we consider education and employment. A fair number of kids identify themselves in terms of life style instead of job. "I am not a lawyer; I am a reader of poetry." It is fine for cab drivers to be college graduates because their main occupation, in the case of Harvard graduates, is visiting the coffee houses at Cambridge and talking philosophy. Driving the cab is simply a means to an end. This way of thinking makes an intriguing assumption, but one that is quite alien to most of us, who assume that you don't become a responsible adult in our society until you move onto a career ladder in some occupation.

The Gap

FROM THE FLOOR: There are two issues here that are not the same. The needs of youth between the ages of fourteen and seventeen are identified in terms of a need for experience. Presumably, from the youngster's standpoint, a nonremunerated job would be as valuable as a job that paid wages. On the other hand, we talk about employment, and that implies remuneration for doing something.

MR. WIRTZ: I am fascinated by the development of two quite different lines of thought. There was a point at which we expected to entitle the book The Gap, but we moved to the other extreme and named it The Boundless Resource. The last speaker brought out the duality of the issue. Is the problem the gap between high school and work or is it the development, the fitting of education into a whole new economy and soul which we see as necessary for the future?

You could just separate this conversation in two halves, depending on the problems under discussion. One side talks about cost efficiency. That has a meaning. But if we talk about fitting education to a new kind of growth and another definition, if we go back to the point made this morning about the cost of this gap, we will be discussing another

cost analysis problem. Right now the costs are something like forty or fifty billion dollars. I don't know whether the question should be how to meet that particular interval, that gap, or whether we should define the problem more broadly. I guess I would hope it would be both. I hope we will come back to this point.

The administration question is how do we get the students into the picture one way or another. That is another point.

FROM THE FLOOR: That is well worth pursuing. I don't know whether we here are acting as educators or as citizens, because one might ask what the hell has youth employment got to do with education?

American labor and industry need to change their attitude. I think it is a terrible mistake for us to go immediately to discussions of what we can do as educators. By giving such short shrift to other effective interest groups, we will interfere with our analysis of the gap problem. I am sure that education, labor, and industry interconnect on dozens of aspects of this problem, but I don't think that we ought to begin by assuming certain overlaps.

Development of Planning Capability

FROM THE FLOOR: Would the distinguished panel comment explicitly on the extent to which carrying out a strategy in education or work requires complementary developments in our capacity to plan?

MR. MARLAND: As individuals or institutions?

FROM THE FLOOR: Both. I am pressing in the direction of what the totalitarian economies do. How systemic or radical a reform are we discussing? What values do we give up to solve this problem? I meant to pose a large question, but I got at it with a small one; I am really talking about the techniques of planning.

MR. MASIKO: It seems to me we are talking about programming young people's lives. And one of the things I haven't heard mentioned at all is that a lot of our youngsters just like to take off, go on the road, and do nothing. And all things considered, I would like to know what the heck is wrong with that at a certain time in a young person's life? Are we going to make provisions for that?

MR. WIRTZ: I feel that they have to plan the other approach. Let's talk in terms of the gap--the gap approach. We are saying two things--that the gap has developed, and that it is bad. Mr. Masiko

questioned the second point, and I guess I do feel that it is bad. The only way of approaching a solution to the problem is by relying more heavily on planning than before.

With respect to the statement about totalitarian societies, we have planned the whole blooming work experience right up to the time when the child leaves the school door. A certain amount of planning picks up four years later but we end up with a gap that is totally unplanned. We assume that the gap is bad, and I think it has a terribly high price tag on it. It is hard for me to be totally open-minded about it.

If we are talking about what interrelationship is necessary between education and work to make a different kind of economy work, then I would say we must plan about ten times as much as we do now with respect to the gap. I always have trouble with the notion that our past course was random wandering. It is just a matter of recognizing those who did the planning. It has not been the public.

If we cast the problem in other terms, the answer involves a great deal more, including, probably, a decision to junk the automobile and rely on mass transportation. I don't believe you will get full employment in this country until we have made up our mind that it is no longer reasonable to use the automobile.

Summary

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: I would like to suggest four points that may summarize the ideas discussed today. First, I sense a consensus that this nation is doing a lousy job of introducing young people to their adult roles. Second, one dramatic index of that failure is the youth unemployment problem, particularly manifest in the population between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. Third, no matter how one interprets the meaning of the issues, one response of our society ought to be a collaborative effort by a variety of local groups to find ways in which the community can play a larger role in overcoming the problem.

Finally, I sense a disagreement within the group. Some say that the only way to do the job well is to have a decentralized reaction to a commonly perceived problem, a kind of gleaning of America about the youth problem. Others say the decentralized operation is essential but a very important catalytic role must fall to higher levels of government, particularly federal. Is this a reasonable summation of some of the major points of agreement and disagreement?

FROM THE FLOOR: I still think the crux is point one. We must ask ourselves, are we trying to prepare people to fit into the present world of work, or are we really going to try to change that world? Concomitantly, we should ask, what is a decent world of work, and how do you prepare people for that? The former is a utopian question, and the latter--the more important question--is pragmatic, but its solution does not necessarily make us better off.

Are we better off competently to accommodate youth to a bad world or to make them fit for a good world? Somewhere along the line you have to make up your mind, and I gather from most of the discussion that we have pretty much decided to make it the best world we can.

MR. MARLAND: I question the material accommodation. The reality is that much work is dull, boring, unpleasant, dirty, and uninspiring, which any work is for part of each day or month. Young people have not had a chance to find this out for themselves, as Dr. Bailey commented earlier about the opportunities in agricultural societies for someone to wield a shovel.

Fewer Work Options in a No-Growth Economy

FROM THE FLOOR: I want to inject another idea into the discussion. There are fewer options now for certain groups of people in this country. One instance might be the military, which now wants to induct high school graduates rather than those who have not finished. Ceilings have been set on the number of high school graduates and nongraduates to be recruited. The whole notion of minorities in the military has moved the recruiters to suburbia. As a result, the kids who drop out of school won't be able to join the service. What does this mean in terms of getting them turned around and back on the track? Such things have to be looked at.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: I think the recent movement in New York State is an attempt to cope with the problem of the dropout by offering alternative ways of moving into the system.

FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to ask Mr. Wirtz a question. The Boundless Resource talked about trying to prepare people for an economy that doesn't emphasize GNP. If people are to work for the community using their hands, you have a bigger and perhaps harder problem to tackle. We can't just say that we are going to educate people in a completely different way than we have done in the past.

The problem is that I am not sure everybody in this room knows how one makes a living in that world. Would we even know how to teach people to do such work? Elementary and secondary schools do well to prepare pupils to work inside an organization. Can you be more explicit? Does anyone learn how to put less emphasis on the GNP in college?

MR. WIRTZ: That is another reflection of the dichotomy. It is hard to know how you got the impression that anybody here is accepting the present situation and is simply preparing the kids for it. I don't believe the conversation warrants that conclusion. At least it is not an accurate reflection of my own thinking.

In answer to your question, yes, I think the whole idea necessarily involves a restructuring of the life experience and of the economy.

FROM THE FLOOR: Who is to do it?

MR. WIRTZ: The schools. I don't think anybody else is going to do it.

FROM THE FLOOR: This is similar to Galbraith's view--change is primarily a function of higher education?

MR. WIRTZ: Right.

The ideas E. F. Schumacher writes about in Small Is Beautiful⁴ are a part of what we are talking about.

In response to your question, we do try in the last half of The Boundless Resource to touch on the function of education. It is a tremendous one. We ought to be telling the kids that the jobs they are preparing for are not going to be there. I think it is shameful at the postsecondary as well as the secondary level that we are letting many of them go ahead on more, and more, and more preparation. We should give them more information about what to expect. And I do think that it is the educational system that must warn them. I still respect, however, the pragmatic observation that such warnings are premature, too abstract, and too idealistic. We therefore ought to start by saying, "All right, there is a gap between one piece of planning and another piece of planning. Let's do something about that situation with the hope that it will have the same catalytic effect that going to the moon did."

My third point this morning was that it is essential to develop a

⁴ E. F. Schumacher, Small Is Beautiful: Economics as If People Mattered (New York: Harper and Row, 1973).

program which meets the immediate interest of adults as much as it deals with the youth problem. This priority isn't so important if the gap is the central element of the problem. I do think both problems exist simultaneously. We might well concentrate on the gap and build from there.

FROM THE FLOOR: Probably have parallel strategies?

MR. WIRTZ: Yes.

FROM THE FLOOR: We really have to teach kids what the realities are--that there are an awful lot of jobs that don't have much to offer. There is a consensus that we are doing a poor job of bringing youth to an adult world.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: As we get more and more pessimistic, let me suggest one of the bright spots. The greatest amount of dissatisfaction with the kind of work presently available in society is among youth, according to all the studies that I have seen.

FROM THE FLOOR: Older people hate to admit the problem, but it is a statement of the failure of their own lives.

FROM THE FLOOR: We talk about adulthood but we don't define adult roles and adulthood. It would be an intriguing but fruitless avenue to pursue. Your definitions could vary all over the lot. I doubt if we agree around the table about what we mean by responsible adult roles.

Society's Obligations to Youth

MR. MASIKO: One idea of doing something special for kids between the ages of fourteen and seventeen may be to give them a minimum wage--so much in the pocket and so much in the bank. Another suggestion is to give people a four-year posthigh school scholarship and a one-year sabbatical when they reach the age of sixty. Why can't we still concentrate on the traditional twelve years of education? Let the youngster exhaust the twelve years, and let the local school system provide continuing services. The mechanism is already in place.

FROM THE FLOOR: What makes you think the schools could undertake such programs?

MR. MASIKO: Work-study, you know, is not a brand-new idea.

FROM THE FLOOR: Wouldn't it make as much sense for community colleges to take on the responsibility with some outside funding to pay for

the counseling and job placement? Maybe a make-work program or a service program of some sort should offer work to every single graduating student as soon as he or she leaves the community college. At Miami-Dade, the records are available, the education-work council is built into the administrative structure, and the leadership feels it has a duty to monitor the progress, counsel, advise, cajole, whatever you will, to find jobs for the kids within this gap. Does that make sense?

MR. MASIKO: Sounds good to me. I wouldn't hesitate a moment to take on the responsibility if you can provide the funding. Financing is critical.

MR. MARLAND: But you don't exclude from that list of responsibilities the additional obligation to give students a formal education?

FROM THE FLOOR: No. Part of the deal would be that students enrolled in school could get jobs at less than minimum wage.

FROM THE FLOOR: The benefits of youth working in the community, apart from wages, accrue as much to the worker as to the community.

I am thinking of some fourteen-year-olds I know who are going through some tremendously rough times. What a tough age it is just emotionally. We need to specify the age group before we could have a program. And the ones that need most to be reached, it seems to me, are the ones who are the most difficult to entice into any program.

The Soviet Union is a fantastic example of how the society has obligated itself to provide a tremendous variety of nonschool opportunities right after school, all Saturdays and Sundays. In our society similar action could be undertaken through voluntary organization and work councils. I am not familiar with the details, but it would be excellent if every school had such a council, if only to provide an opportunity for youth to relate to nonrelated adults. What if school teachers were to volunteer a couple of hours a week after school apart from their contract? Would there be parents who would participate?

In order to help all of the kids develop to the betterment of society, we need a move to develop situations in which a dynamic adult and youth can work together. That has to start very early if we hope to reach the ill-fated fourteen-year-old.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: In my summation, I mentioned as the final point that there seems to be some disagreement among those in this room. One group believes the problem is not solvable except for individual

communities; once the problem is recognized, the citizens will do something about it. Another group believes that the program, whatever it is, must begin by working with kindergarten or first-grade students.

FROM THE FLOOR: It would cost money and require public funding.

Role of Governments

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: So the other possibility is that the federal or state government may assume the role of a catalytic agent on an experimental basis. Does the group suggest any policy directions on the latter issue that seem useful? Should we recommend a national service or community internships with federal funding or something else? Where does one go from here in terms of policy, assuming for a minute that policy at the federal level, for example, can be useful?

FROM THE FLOOR: I don't want to give direction, but a major problem is that nobody--individual or group--in the federal government has the purview of youth. In my brief contacts with the federal government, I am told that HEW now has an agenda concerning runaway girls. But Steve Henaman at George Washington University, whose job it is to monitor all the federal programs pertaining to youth, stresses the ad hoc nature of it all; even HEW's programs don't fit together into any kind of coherent whole.

Some group in the federal government ought to look at the larger issues and not just deal, as apparently is the case now, with one problem after another.

FROM THE FLOOR: The Office of Youth Development is studying the larger issue, and a White House Conference on Youth will be held in just five weeks.

FROM THE FLOOR: To what extent are the volunteer programs still functioning, for example, VISTA? Is it a viable concept, and does such a program still reach a substantial number of people?

FROM THE FLOOR: The President's budget has caused a reduction in VISTA, which some people interpret to mean that we are winning the war on poverty.

FROM THE FLOOR: I am trying to go back to the role the government is to play. You described it largely as a catalytic agent. But a policy for children isn't people-oriented, although it tries to provide services. I don't think that programs can be implemented voluntarily or that groups will develop by chance.

We are dealing with such a significant issue that we need to begin with an age-oriented or people-oriented program that has a predetermined focus. The educational structure may not be able to handle such a program because it may find it too hard to change. But I think that government has to play more of a catalytic role in determining policy, and it must try to carry out the resulting programs at the respective level.

FROM THE FLOOR: You obviously had some idea in mind when you convened this very interesting session. Most of us in the room represent postsecondary education. Our constituencies are making demands on us that are not terribly related to much of what we are talking about here, particularly concerning the age group of fourteen to seventeen.

How should we follow up? Because if we are going to get the government to do something, the government will respond only to a fairly high level of demand.

Junior GI's

MR. WIRTZ: We are confronted with a very serious crisis in this society. But there are ways to meet it which have very specific and direct relationships to your clientele and mine. If one starts with the notion of a juvenile GI Bill--an education to repay for work done during the youth period--it would mean that eighteen-year-olds would have \$6,500 apiece to buy a part in college education.

FROM THE FLOOR: Then we have a selling job to do.

MR. WIRTZ: I would only hope that we would look at the growing-up process as a time both to adjust to adult roles and to improve one's capacity to live leisure hours with something more than desperation.

FROM THE FLOOR: I would like to make an observation about the central importance of the gap and how it becomes a part of the postsecondary education concern. A third way to define postsecondary education would include those who drop out of high school and are not going back, which helps you work your way down to age fourteen. There is a problem we alluded to but haven't really considered. Across the country appropriations and other kinds of support for postsecondary education are being cut back, particularly in the case of community colleges. As support diminishes, the things that get cut out first are usually the most nontraditional aspects of the offerings.

It seems to me the gap is very central, and is not just a postsecondary problem. I think it is something postsecondary education can

address itself to. But we are at the point in history right now, 1976, when we are having to live with reduced financial support, and quite often that reduction mandates what it is you will drop.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: I hear you loud and clear.

FROM THE FLOOR: One answer, it seems to me, is to reorder priorities. If communities could decide what the priorities ought to be, what the priorities really are, and what the programs ought to be to satisfy those priorities, they would have a rational basis from which to judge program cuts. Nontraditional offerings might be found to have a much higher priority than they had originally been assigned.

This is one approach that we are interested in, to press not just community colleges, so that decisions concerning what has to be done and what isn't going to be done will be based on an up-to-date analysis. I would hope that one of the results would be a broader public appreciation of the importance of this gap and what might be done to reduce it. There are lots of resources being used. It is a question of priorities.

FROM THE FLOOR: This junior GI Bill plan, would it supplement the College Work-Study program? Would the billions of dollars more that would be put into the hands of young people for higher education be added to CWS?

MR. WIRTZ: It could.

FROM THE FLOOR: What about the two-thirds that opt not to continue their education? Can they buy a car?

MR. MARLAND: They have a voucher even at the age of sixty to study art.

FROM THE FLOOR: Could they launch a private enterprise?

MR. WIRTZ: I would think that at the age of twenty-two or twenty-five they could have the option of launching a private enterprise.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: The American Council on Education, with help from others, is putting together a statement, and what we are talking about today is the way of communicating the lives of those of us committed to doing something of this kind.

FROM THE FLOOR: If you issue a statement tied to some national service ideal, you will trigger the reactions of people and a bunch of solutions will be suggested.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: It happens not only to be the year of the Bicentennial but also of a national election. During an election year

there are more candidates than effective issues. One of the great hopes is that maybe candidates looking for something to stand behind will find nourishment in what we are talking about today.

Both Jerry and I have addressed the National Association of Secondary School Principals within the last four days, and after the addresses we were extraordinarily moved by the degree of concern among our audiences.

CONCLUSION: LAST CLEAR CHANCE

MR. WIRTZ: I guess my concern runs pretty deep too. I think we are about to proceed on what will turn out to be a wrong economic theory, at least the parameters of that theory. We are at a point that the lawyers call the "last clear chance." I am trying to think how we can break through the existing pattern.

I have concluded with difficulty that leadership will not come from the national level in the foreseeable future. It is going to happen at the local level.

I will rely unblinkingly on fate, but I do find in the job and function of education that element which will both attract spirit and contribute to the working out of a more rational system. I see it in terms of elementary, postsecondary, and adult education.

I think a feasible, pragmatic possibility exists at the community level if somebody can translate that force into educational policy. As you pursue the education goals of your separate constituencies, I would hope that you would also try to build a new educational policy around citizen participation, greatly expanded at the local level. Policy should be directed particularly at the subject of lifetime education, with considerable emphasis given to service and the gap. I believe that this country will soon go back to the politics of idealism. The policy for youth, work, and education that we have envisioned is a starting base to redevelop the politics of idealism. I think our program will work, and we should not be discouraged by our very helpful recognition of the difficulties to come. Run up the flag, gang, and let's see what we can do.

CHAIRMAN BAILEY: I can't think of a better note on which to end this delightful meeting. Thank all of you for coming.

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